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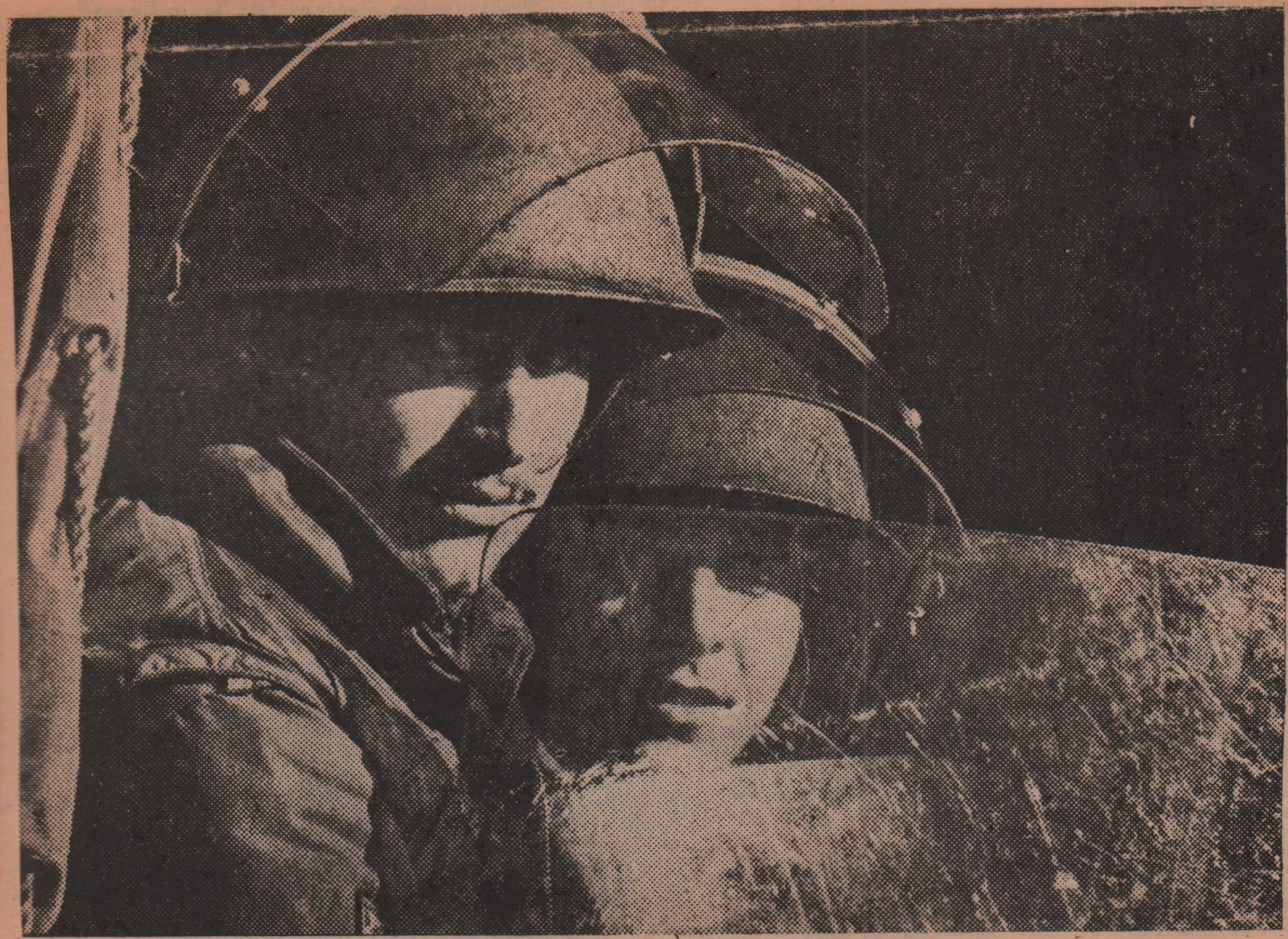
LOYALTY OF DONEGAN'S TROOPS A MYTH ??



10 year olds get army vengeance in Ballymurphy

The British Army, or "the Brits" as kids in Belfast prefer to call them, sometimes surpass even themselves, when it comes to exhibitions of sadism. On Monday week last in Ballymurphy a duck patrol of the Royal Green Jackets regiment, based in the Henry Taggart Hall, came across a group of ten-year old children playing. They hid in a backyard for some time watching them and apparently decided that it wasn't right for kids to be happy. The Brit in charge came up to the group and ordered them all up against the wall. The kids just stared back, for even though those who were well acquainted with seeing their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters arrested or beaten up by the army, couldn't understand why they were being singled out. The kids reaction was obviously not fast enough for the Brit for he smacked ten year old Tony Gray in the ribs with his rifle butt knocking him to the ground.

That done, he cracked a joke to his mates and they all set off at a trot – back to base. No doubt to report another successful bit of intimidation of the 'paddies'.

Tony Gray had to have hospital treatment for his injury and certainly he and his friends have a clearer idea of the racist hatred existing in the British Army. Considering the attack was on a ten year old child makes us wonder about the extent of injuries to the men in Long Kesh and Crumlin Road Jail over the past month.

Finally the incident is an answer to all those who call for an end to the war against the army on the grounds that "soldiers are only lads doing a day's work – it is those at the top who are the criminals'. Imperialism has been successful precisely because it has bribed so many to defend it. Its indoctrination is all the more frighteningly successful when a 10 year old child can be attacked by a soldier for simply being a child in a catholic area.

FINGERPRINTS
'NEUTRALITY' of SCIENCE IS A MYTH

The growth of another aspect of State repressive machinery is hardly going to make a stir in Northern Ireland where Courts aren't of much importance if the Brits or the RUC want a conviction – and where such things as trials and the bringing of charges are unnecessary and irrelevant to them.

However on November 7th a 19 year old Co. Tyrone man Patrick MacKearney was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. The evidence used to convict him was a finger-print on an unexploded bomb.

Las month an International Conference on the science of fingerprinting was organised by the British Home Office, Police Scientific Development Branch (PDSB) led by Ken Millard. Once again Britain, that haven of 'democracy' demonstrated that it was ahead of even the USA in some fingerprinting techniques. In 2–3 years Millard says, police computers will automatically read, classify and match fresh finger-prints with past records. There are already specialist collections for housebreaking, fraud, and what are termed 'other serious offences'. The computerisation is also taking place in West Germany, Sweden, the U.S.A., Canada and other countries.

The British Police are helped by complaint technicians at the London School of Printing who are working on automatic finger-printing machines and South Hampton University where Dr. G. Thomas and a team from the PDSB are researching new ways of taking prints from previously difficult materials such as fabrics, plastics and banknotes.

Prints on paper have been developed up to 5 years after being handled, while 30% recovery of prints on fabric after washing and wearing is possible with a new technique which makes a negative print.

Such nationally minded companies as Ferranti are also working with the Home Office on the problem of reading and coding fingerprints. Scotland Yard has now a collection of 20 million prints with over 150,000 added each year. Identification using finger prints at present is low (about 28% last year) but newer techniques such as computer systerms, are adding to the growing amount of information on individuals the police and their agents hold in data banks.

So much for the "neutrality" of science in government machinery.

NEW REGIMENT OLD FACES

Last week saw the end of the tour of oppression of the first Battalion Black Watch regiment in the Andersonstown area of Belfast.

To the surprise of everyone though they didn't go on a rampage – as regiments normally do before they leave. The reason being that they haven't all left. For familiar faces have been spotted among the new regiment – the Fusilers, who have now started their tour of 'duty'. The faces recognised are some of the worst bully-boys who constantly raided houses and who were involved in the beating up of people from ten to seventy years of age while serving with the Black Watch.

Information has leaked out that many members of the Fusiliers have refused to come to Northern Ireland, so obviously some of the Black Watch have stayed behind to keep up battalion strength, AND to tutor the new regiment in how to keep the area under thumb.

It will make little difference however for whatever regiment is on the streets, to the people of Andersonstown any regiment is a British regiment and any British regiment is there for only one thing – to impose the British solution, to crush the struggle, whether it is done with kid gloves or rifle butts, basically doesn't matter.

STUDENTS MARCH IN BELFAST
protest against murder of Hugh Coney

Report of meeting held by Queen's University Belfast students on Wednesday 5th November to protest at the murder of Hugh Coney, the Long Kesh internee.

A march to the City Hall was organised by a general meeting of Q.U.B. students under the auspices of the Labour Club. About three hundred students took part and the march, though it was not allowed to proceed to the city hall, was very successful. It showed that not all students are totally apathetic.

The British Army blocked off Bedford Street close to the City Hall and a sit-down protest was held. A member of the Labour Club; the President of Queen's S.R.C. addressed the meeting. Brid Ruddy spoke as a member of the students P.H.R.C. and of Peoples Democracy. She pointed out the similarities of the sit-down with the original one held by P.D. in Linenhall Street six years ago. She said that the only change was that there was now more repression than ever, more internees and more political prisoners than ever before in the history of the Six County State.

Calling for an end to internment was not enough. People could easily be legally imprisoned on trumped up charges under any of the repressive measures used by the State. Though the shooting of Hugh Coney was a very tragic event it was only a symptom of the total repression suffered by the anti-Unionist people under the jackboot of British Imperialism. There would be many more assassinations, both legal (carried out by the British Army and other 'security' forces) and "illegal" (carried out by the Loyalists with the full backing of the British).

She said it was important to understand that these assassinations will continue and escalate while the British Army is in Ireland, for their intention was to intimidate the anti-unionist people into acceptance of Loyalist majority rule after the Convention. This new Protestant Ascendancy would carry out more repression than ever before and the British were arming the RUC reserve and trying to re-introduce the RUC into all areas in order to bring back a more powerful and fascist version of the B-Specials. It was useless to demand the resignation (or trial) of Merlyn Rees, he was a mere figurehead for his masters and would carry out their repressive policies to the full. Any other M.P. even the erstwhile Labour 'leftie' Stanley Orme would do exactly the same.

Finally Brid Ruddy congratulated the students for taking to the streets again at last to identify with the anti-imperialist struggle. She expressed the hope that they would keep up the pressure against repression and for real freedom.

Sectarianism of C.P. and Republican Clubs

Several points are worth noting about the march. Firstly the students P.H.R.C. had to pressurise the Labour Club (controlled by Officials and Communist Party) at the General Meeting, to allow them to speak at the march. Secondly P.D. members opposed the proposal for a silent march, demanding that people be allowed to shout political slogans to protest about a political act, the shooting of an unarmed internee. This prosposal was narrowly defeated.

On the way to the City Hall youths from Sandy Row area (Loyalist area), attacked the march at Shaftsbury Square with bricks and bottles and loyalist workers in Great Victoria Street leaned out windows to shout abuse and fire missiles as well.

At the meeting itself students gave an enthusiastic response to the PHRC speakers demand for the withdrawal of British Troops and for self-defence for anti-Unionist areas. The couple of hundred students who supported the march were militant and supported more revolutionary politics than those that were put forward by the Labour Club. This is a good sign for student politics in the future and is a good basis on which revolutionary socialists can work in the Universities.

LOYALTY OF DONEGAN'S TROOPS A MYTH ??

Army entering Portloaise prison after political prisoners are moved there from Mountjoy

War is an extension of politics and armies pursue that extension with the use of calculated physical force and violence. Few if any armies are exceptions to this universal rule. Thus the American Army in Vietnam and the British Army in Ireland, as elsewhere throughout the world and through the ages, fight in support of imperialist policies. On the other hand revolutionary armies fight for revolutionary aims – they are an extension of revolutionary politics.

The present 26-Co. Army is no exception to this rule although their are myths and misconceptions about what exactly the purpose of that particular army is – this misconception arises mainly out of the nature of its founding and the politics of the state of which it is the armed wing.

Far from being a revolutionary army, however, the 26 Co. army was founded as a basically counter-revolutionary force out of the shambles of 1921 Treaty with Britain in order to safeguard that treaty and the interests of the class which supported the Treaty. It did, however, contain many officers and men who had been revolutionaries in the War of Independence between 1918 and 1921, equally as the Civil War dragged on, it contained in its ranks many who had previously served in the old Irish regiments of the British Army, such as the Dublin Fusiliers, the Munsters and so on.

The loyalty of this pro-Treaty army was to the politics of the compromise political solution with the Empire and it's job was to enforce that compromise and fight against the mass of the IRA who opposed that solution.

Since then that political line has been central to the function of the 26 Co. Defence Forces whether guarding anti-imperialist prisoners in prison-camps, providing execution squads for the same anti-imperialists or collaborating with the British Army along the border with the Northern State.

The army which believes itself to be the legal army of the whole of Ireland – in fact as frequent governments remind us, the only legal army in Ireland, has found itself acting as the 5th column of the British Army which it was supposedly set up to replace.

Disloyalty within its ranks

It is against such a bacground that we must view the recent appearance in the Special Criminal Court of 6 N.C.O.'s and privates in the Irish Army on an explosives charge. Whether the charge arises out of the commercial instincts of the rank and file of the defence forces or out of their anti-imperialist politics, it raises very forcefully the whole question of the state of morale and loyalty in the army – in a state of affairs which apparently runs completely counter to the recent blustering statements of Paddy Donegan, Coalition Defence Minister. Together with recent reports of punch-ups and free-for-alls between British and 26 Co. soldiers on the border, it points to the growing contradictions between the political sentiments of the rank and file and the political aims of those who control and direct the defence forces.

An army which is recruited on a mercenary basis for ambiguous political objectives can not hope to survive intact the longer the anti-imperialist war in the North continues.

Belfast marchers outwit Brits and reach Crumlin Rd. jail

The Peoples Democracy last Sunday achieved a major propaganda coup against the British Army by successfully marching from the Falls Road, are of Belfast to Crumlin Road Jail, in protest against Internment and at the 'murder and brutality of the British Army'. The march was the first successful attempt for many years by an anti-Unionist organisation to march through Belfast city centre to the jail, and afterward jubulant demonstrators marched to the Grand Central Army post to demand the release of one of the marchers who had been arrested earlier in the demonstration. The British Army and RUC raced backwards and forwards across the city in apparent total confusion as P.D. stewards marshalled the crowd over an intricate route to the jail.

The march set off from Beechmount Avenue in the Falls Rd. area shortly after 2.00 p.m. The march destination had been kept a secret, but most of the demonstrators and the British Army assumed that it was to be Long Kesh camp. Hundreds of troops and RUC had been deployed to block the possible routes to Long Kesh. As the marchers were lined up to set off, seemingly in the direction of Long Kesh, the Chief Steward ordered an about turn and headed off towards the City Centre using a route through the side streets to further confuse the Army.

A short distance along the Falls Road, the march avoided a hastily erected Army barricade and proceeded towards Castle Street. An Army riot squad came running from Hasting Street barracks but this was outflanked and the march proceeded to the Castle Street Millfield junction. Here another group of soldiers and RUC arrived just in time to erect a barbed wire barricade and stop the march.

At this point the march organisers called on demonstrators to move back to the Divis Flats complext for a public meeting

While the protest meeting was in progree in the Divis Flats complex P.D. stewards moved along the road and told people to disperse in small groups and reassemble in Unity Flats on the other side of the army barricades. After about half an hour when most of the marchers had reached Unity Flats unknown to the army and R.U.C. they reassembled and marched through the Flats and onto the Crumlin Road.

From here, with the jail in sight and the army completely baffled as to what had happened, the marchers broke into a run until they reached the jail gates. At the gates a short protest rally was held with speakers from the members of the Peoples Democracy, the R.M.G. and Sinn Fein. The names of prisoners inside the jail were called out amid cheers and singing from the demonstrators.

After the meeting there was slight stoning from a small crowd of loyalist youths, but the marchers returned to Unity Flats without injury.

It was then decided to march to the Grand Central Army post to demand the release of a P.D. member who had been arrested earlier in the march. Once again the army seemed to have been taken totally by surprise and after making their protest the marchers proceeded back up the Falls Road. The arrested man was released.

One of the grim confrontations with the Brits during one of last week's demonstrations

P.D. MEETING IN ARDOYNE

North Belfast Peoples Democracy held a protest meeting in the Ardoyne area of Belfast on Friday over the murder of Hugh Coney and to call for an end to internment. After the meeting which was addressed by Fergus O'Hare and Rose Hunter the crowd assembled and marched to Flax Street Army Barracks where the people of that area showed their contempt for the British Army by stoning the barracks.

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Condemnations of the Media

Violence is the favourite hobby horse of the press, T.V. and radio these days. All the time we hear or see the news headlines :– 'Violence'. Whenever there is popular action on the streets against some particularly brutal act by the British in the North the story is introduced as:– 'violence'. And each time there is a death the moderates of the SDLP, the 26 Co. Coalition and the like, are screaming about 'Violence'. The church too is very fond of using the term, especially Cardinal Conway and Bishops Daly and Philbin. But there is one thing in common about the condemnations all of these people make – they are aimed against the violence which comes from one side – from the anti-Unionist Catholic minority in the North of Ireland.

What has the Catholic working class in that part of Ireland got that it merits so much attention from all the "important" people in the country? Or what is there about all those who are constantly criticising the anti-Unionists that they feel they must keep up the criticisms?

Pro-Imperialist –v– Anti-Imperialist

There is one simple answer. The Catholic working class of the North of Ireland represent a people who have been and are being oppressed by British Imperialism – firstly through the divide-and-rule tactics of Partition and then through the physical repression of the British Army.

They have fought back and as a result undergo the barrage of attack and criticism from the allies of Britain who want the political system in Ireland to remain as it is.

Civil Rights and Non-Violence

As far back as 1968 on the very first Civil Rights marches the popular cry was "no violence". People felt that if they offered no violence to the riot-clad RUC there would be no violence used against them. They felt that they could achieve their demands by virtue of the sheer pressure of people on the streets. How wrong they were, for march after march was beaten off the streets, rerouted or banned. The Civil Rights marchers had come up against something they had not understood – all the violence of the State which they could never hope to take on. They had set out to try to reform but discovered that what they were faced with was not Stormont Government Ministers being forced to listen and negotiate but police and B-Specials in helmets and visors, with CS guns, steel shields, batons and pick-shafts. They had come up against the protectors of the 'democratic' state and were going to get no further.

The 'protectors of the democracy' however were not content with standing there and looking tough. They literally batoned a demonstration off the streets in Derry on October 5th 1968, and they did likewise all over the North in the months that followed.

Still the cry from the 'moderates' was 'no violence'. The cry had become considerably weakened by 1969 though and the tolerance of the Six-County State such as it was, had been stretched to its full limit.

No Reform

The State had been set up on discrimination and it needed discrimination in order to continue to exist. There could be no granting of reforms, for even if the more liberal Unionists wanted to hand out a few jobs here and there to Catholics, or even to grant the demand of 'one man one vote', the system they had operated for fifty years had suited and bought off those whom it favoured so well, that they would stand for no change. Massive progroms were launched against the Catholic ghettoes particularly in Belfast and Derry. Streets of houses were burned out and thousands forced to flee their homes in Belfast, while in Derry the RUC, the police force of the Loyalist State, made a prolonged and vicious assault on the Bogside. Yes, it was a field day for non-violence all over the North – for the Northern Ireland State that was.

Middle class –v– Working class

But even then, at that stage in the struggle, the 'respectable' catholics were condemning 'violence'. And why? Simply because the demands for civil rights were not of pressing urgency to the middle class catholics who had their shops, their teaching jobs, their surgeries and what not. They did not have the pressing urgency to demand jobs, votes, or houses and so they were almost the first to condemn those who did so militantly, the working class who had been treated like dirt for fifty years.

Today when we hear those same people condemn the violence of the IRA while keeping their silence on the British Army and sectarian killings, it is worthwhile to look back to the origins of the IRA.

Development of IRA

In the aftermath of 1969's progroms RUC gassing and murders, the Catholic working class of Belfast had a choice facing them. To trust the British Army to protect them or to rely on themselves and prepare to defend their areas again if necessary. They chose to defend themselves, for all this time it was clear that the Stormont State was going to stay, and with it all the apparatus of discrimination and repression of the Catholic community. On top of that, gun licences were freely available to the Protestant community so they were arming legally. In short, the British were prepared to tolerate an armed 'Loyal' working class but not prepared to tolerate an armed 'disloyal' or nationalist one. Arms raids were launched on the Catholic ghettoes by the British Army and in the violent reaction that followed the need for the IRA was shown.

In response to the violence of the Northern Ireland state the IRA developed as the revolutionary violence of the people.

Media – voice of the Imperialists

The manouverings of the pro-Imperialist politicians and Press North and South have been interesting. They have systematically gone from positions of attack on the IRA – when the British propagandists were strong, to almost support when the British had discredited themselves in some way – hence the criticism of the British after Bloody Sunday and the massive propaganda campaign against the IRA when a Catholic Unionist judge was killed. The Media, the church Hierarchy, the Catholic middle-class and the 26 Co. parliamentarians support the imperialists. They openly back them as long as

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hey are winning but they carefully all in behind the people when the RA are on the crest of a wave and vait for the next opportunity to attack.

26-Co. Politicians

Take the 26 Co. Coalition Government and Opposition. The Labour Party claim allegiance to James Connolly, yet condemn the IRA violence in the North. But James Connolly's last act was to throw himself wholeheartedly into the 1916 rising, a violent act of war if ever there was one.

Fianna Fail likewise condemn the violence of the IRA yet each year honour those who fought in the IRA in the war of Independent and in the Civil War.

Similarly Fine Gael operate a constitution which would not be in existence were it not for the violence of the IRA in the twenties. Yes, the whole twenty-six county state is based on violence of the IRA. But its economy is based on the capitalist system and so the government supports British imperialism. Consequently they support the violence of Britain in the North and condemn that of the IRA.

All over the world the story is the same. Each time there has been any movement for reform there have always been the 'moderates' to step out and appeal for "non-violence". But non-violent reform movements have never got anywhere and despite condemnation from the media only the so-called 'violent' ones have.

British never admit being forced

There are many examples here in Ireland in recent years. In 1968 the Stormont government batoned a civil rights march off the streets. The marchers were demanding 'One Man, One Vote', 'Houses for All', 'An End to the Special Powers Act' and an end to discrimination in housing allocation. Three years later many of the demand had theoretically been met and the British government was saying 'It would have happened anyway', – we had their record of the previous 50 years on which to judge the honesty of that statement. Similarly the popular demand following the introduction of Internment was to 'Smash Stormont'. It took a year's hard fighting and many lives before the British gave in on that one, yet still they would not admit they were bowing to pressure, to the violence of the IRA.

In short, when a country is dominated physically and economically by an Imperialist power such as Britain, the Imperialist country is not there for nothing. It is there for what it can plunder and in the case of Britain the plunder is the cheap labour of the North's workforce and the financial control over almost 75% of all industry there. Britain will never leave Ireland willingly, she must be forced out.

For the Middle classes – Catholic and Protestant – in Ireland there is no pressing urgency for British withdrawal – for their interests are best served by British control. For the working class it is a different matter. Under imperialist domination they can only be little better than slaves. They can only be free if their country is free and for Ireland that means liberation from British economic and political control.

Loyalists – first line of defence for Britain

At the moment the North is occupied by British troops. It also has a garrison of URC and UDR, the local armed forces which are loyal to the link with Britain. On top of that it has the various loyalist military and para-military groups such as the UVF, UDA, Protestant Defence Force, Orange Volunteers etc. All are loyal to the link with Britain and all are opposed to uniting the country and to power-sharing or reforms. All are opposed to the IRA. They are Britain's first line of defence in the North, the force which Britain has created to be the local protectors of her interests.

At the moment the sectarian assassinations demonstrate the action of Britain's first line of defence. It is reacting against the threat to the existence of the Protestant Ascendancy state where the bulk of the skilled workforce is Protestant and the unskilled and unemployed is Catholic. That sectarian state has been under threat since the days of the first Civil Rights marches. It is clear now that there can be no justice for Northern anti-Unionists in any form of 6 Co. State, the Northern State must be abolished and that can only be done by a military struggle against Britain. With Britain defeated a large measure of the security Loyalists derive from the present of British troops would be gone.

British troops have been in many countries in recent years. In all of them they claimed to be fighting 'Terrorism', and in all of them they operated a propaganda war in which they condemned the violence of the native peoples they were oppressing. Britain's political allies did likewise. Now a few short years later the media does not reflect on how Britain, once so "correct", was driven out of Aden, Kenya, Cyprus, the Middle East etc. etc. Of course Britain would say that she 'was going anyway'!!

Political blackmail

Finally the question of sectarian assassinations is the thing which these days is getting all the attention of the 'violence' condemners on the Media and in the government propaganda departments. For the way the question is posed by the Loyalists is that unless the IRA call off their campaign then the assassinations will continue. That of course is political blackmail. the IRA violence only started after all peaceful attempts to ends discrimination against the Catholic minority had proven fruitless. Now we are being told that if the anti-Unionists don't stop the war, if they don't stop demanding an end to the essence of discrimination – the 6 Co. state – they will be shot and there will be Civil War. There's a charming choice – it's 'croppies lie down' all over again.

Britain started the conflict

The anti-Unionist working class of the North did not start the conflict in the 6 Cos. It was started by Britain. The choice facing the anti-Unionists is to give up now and forget the objects of the last five years or to continue on the struggle and face whatever Britain throws up in our path.

For most there is no question of returning to the stagnant sectarian slave politics of 1968 and before. The struggle for National Liberation is five years on the road and is now meeting the reactionaries head on. **There is no question of the revolutionary violence of the anti-Unionist community not being supported – it must be backed fully by the working class all over Ireland and in Britain.**

Fitzgerald bows to Dublin building workers

On Tuesday last November 5th, the workforce of T. G. Crampton Setanta site in Dublin, with the notable exception of the foremen and the Official Republicans there, walked off the site in a protest march to Leinster House (Dail Eireann). They were demanding that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Garret Fitzgerald, intervene with the British Government on behalf of Frank Stagg, then thirty three days on hunger strike in an English jail. The following is a report from one of the men working on the site:

"We marched down Nassau Street and up Grafton Street just as middle class diners were emerging with full bellies from expensive restaurants. A better contrast with the hunger strike of Frank Stagg could not be found. Many people asked us what the protest was about.

On reaching Stephen's Green we were joined at the front by three motor cycle police who appeared determined to go to Leinster House with us. We continued down Merrion Street, though Clare St., picking up police all the way and even a couple of special branchmen who seemed to be looking for "subversives"!

Finally we stopped at the Kildare St. entrance to Leinster House to find it well blocked with Gardai. One of our Shop Stewards, Tommy Ennis of UCATT, drew up a petition urging the Minister for Foreign Affairs to demand an end to the victimisation of Frank Stagg. It was signed by all the marchers and was delivered by Tommy Ennis and Tommy Banks of the NEETU.

Fitzgerald was not available so the petition was handed to the Dail superintendent. But two hours later Fitzgerald arrived to the site and spoke with the shop stewards assuring them that he was making representations to the British on Frank Stagg's behalf.

Our success was final when we learned that evening that the hunger strike had ended and Frank Stagg had won his victory.

Finally, out of that one brief demonstration we learned that a united working class can achieve great things if we are determined and organised."

Obviously Garrett FitzGerald got a nasty scare when these workers left their place of work to march on Leinster House. This type of action has not taken place in the 26 Cos. since Bloody Sunday and the Coalition Government obviously feared serious repercussions if Stagg died. The spontaneous march off the site to protest at the Dail can be compared with the Belfast United Workers Group who have been organising similar type demonstrations in Belfast over the past few months. It is a very significant development and must be encouraged and supported by all militant republicans and Socialists

united action should continue

The storm of protests since the shooting dead of Hugh Coney Long Kesh Internee, has taken many forms over the last week. Marches and demonstrations organised mainly by the Belfast United Workers' Group were big and militant. A one-day strike on the day Hugh Coney was buried was effective in all anti-Unionist areas. The Provisional I.R.A. launched a massive offensive against the British Army and reprisals in the form of 7 soldiers dead and as many wounded took a heavy toll over the past week.

The massive solidarity and unity has succeeded in boosting the morale of the Catholic minority and shown Britain strength and determination that still exists in the anti-Unionist ghettoes.

This united action must be kept up until Britain is forced to end internment and withdraw her troops.

BISHOP PHILBIN BLAMES IT ALL ON THE PEOPLE

James Connolly, in his pamphlet "Labour, Nationality and Religion" outlines the long history of calculated, despicable betrayal of the Irish struggle for freedom by the Catholic Hierarchy in this country. In every period of our history, when Irishmen and women have endeavoured to free themselves from the slavery of British domination, the voice of the church has too often been raised in betrayal.

The infamous former Bishop of Kerry Moriorty who denounced the Fenian Brotherhood with the words "Hell is not hot enough nor eternity long enough to punish such has by no means played a unique role in Irish history. From as far back as 1169, with the first Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, right up until the present day, many Priests, Bishops Cardinals and Popes have poured out their wrath on those who have opposed Britain's interests in Ireland.

The greatest irony is that William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne was financed by the Pope of the day!

The recent utterances of the Bishop of Down and Connor, William Philbin have earned him a place in the same dishonourable side of history. Indeed the history of this man, who dined at tea parties in Buckingham Palace while Irish people were being murdered by Britain's hirelings, who rushed to Hastings Street Barracks in Belfast to weep over British soldiers killed while engaged in terrorising the people of the Lower Falls, and who has made innumerable statements condemning the anti-Imperialist struggle – will ensure that he is reserved a place in the forefront of the whole sordid bunch of traitors to the Irish liberation struggle.

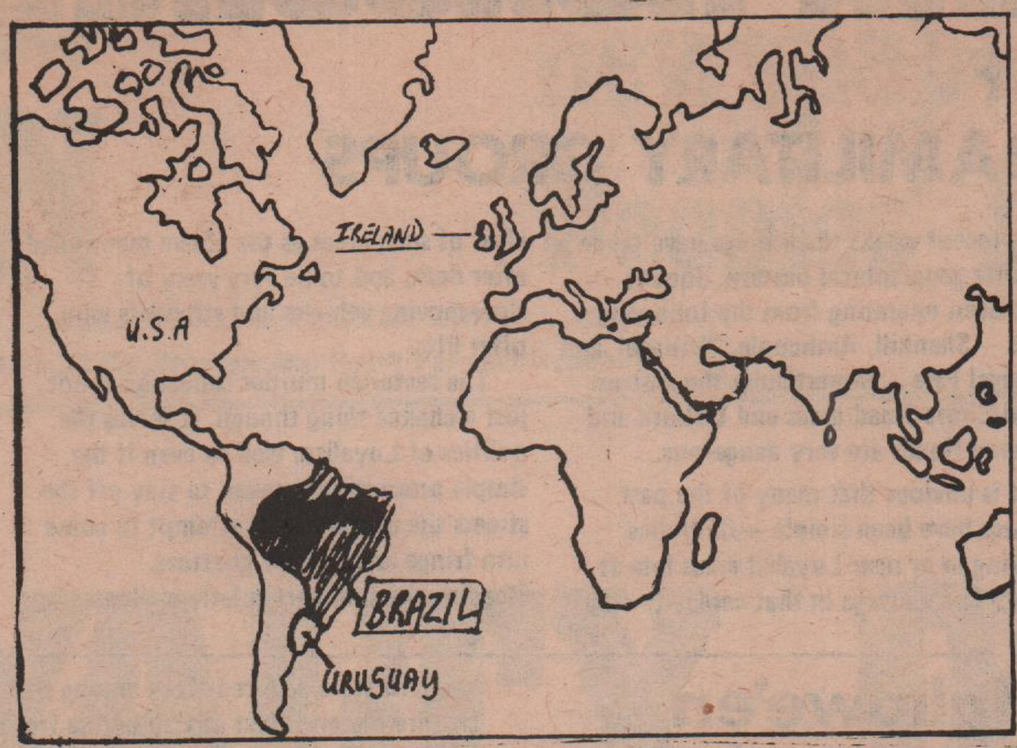
His latest speech, calling for support for the R.U.C. and British Army is completely in character. The 'reasoning' (for wnat of a better word) that he uses to support this calls is that such a course of action "would help stop the sectarian murders". It is convenient for Philbin to ignore the fact that both the R.U.C. and British Army have been responsible for the murder of Catholics at any time that it suited Britain's interests. It is generally convenient for him to forget that the murderers of the UDA and UVF have now been invited by Merlyn Rees to join the RUC force – for the sole purpose of ensuring the continued oppression of the anti-Unionist people.

For Philbin to suggest that either of these bodies will try to stop the assassination of Catholics, other than when it suits their political ends to do so, is ridiculous. On the contrary, the only way to completely stop these murders, is to destroy what has started them – Imperialist manipulation and control in Ireland, in defence of which the murders, the RUC and the British Army are all used.

But another aspect of Philbin's overall attitudes is revealed in the speech – he says: "If alignment with murder gans is being assumed against us indiscriminately, statistics show that it is a thousand times more likely that any Catholic taken at random has no such alignment – and this likelihood is all the greater if there is question of someone in regular employment or on his way to work". In other words Philbin is saying that he does not like the indiscriminate assassination campaign because not enough people who "align" themselves withe the anti-imperialist struggle have been killed, but that the situation might be improved if more unemployed people were shot instead !!!!! That statement must put Philbin in the same league as William Craig, with his ideas on eliminating "the enemy". To extend the logic of Dr. Philbin's remarks, it should not be long before he is calling for the machine-gunning of Long Kesh – or the dole queue – and possibly advocating the bombing of Andersonstown – all as more efficient methods of removing those who "align" themselves with people of whom he disapproves.

Finally, in condemning the attitude of Dr. Philbin we are not writing off those clergy who have uncompromisingly supported the struggle of the last six years.

In the past the church has had to 'eat her words' on many occasions – when those whom she had originally opposed have achieved power. This time Dr. Philbin would appear to be burning all his boats – he seems to have mor faith than even the British themselves have in their own solution.



Over the past few weeks 'Unfree Citizen' has been carrying a series of articles on struggles and revolutions in other countries particularly Latin American countries. We are continuing this series on Latin America and in the short space available each week we will try to give a general background to the country as well as the various revolutionary and reactionary forces operating there.

URUGUAY– Like Ireland exports people and profits

Uruguay is a tiny south American coastal country of rich pastureland and only 2½ million people. It is surrounded by Argentine and Brazil and is a former Spanish colony. Uruguay is the country of the Tupamaros, one of the most amazing guerilla movements of Latin America.

The economy of Uruguay is basically agricultural – based on beef and wool, but 57% of the land is owned by 4% of the people, the big ranchers who overgraze the plains with their herds, forcing the tenant farmers into the meat factories of Montevideo the capital. Half the population live in the capital where 25% of those employed are in services like banks, civil service, tourism, insurance – all controlled by U.S. imperialism.

The Tupamaros

Yet it was neither from among the tenant farmers nor in the cities that the Tupamaros developed. In 1962, just after the Cuban revolution, Raoul Sendic, a young militant from the socialist party went into the countryside with some comrades and for two years lived the wretched life of the cane-pickers. They organised mass marches of canepickers from the countryside to Montevideo demanding rights to form unions and have minimum pay.

The canepickers and the city militants together formed the first underground cells of the "Movement for National Liberation". They became the Tupamaros and hit the state right in the middle of the economic crisis of '64-'65. This crisis was the result of the movement of U.S. and international capital into Uraguay where industry, banks, ranches, all fell into the hands of a new Uraguay/U.S. ruling class.

Tupamaros' Popular Action

The Tupamaros revolutionaries attacked hundreds of banks, hijacked food lorries, stormed army and police barracks. They believed in 'popular' actions that would 'speak for themselves'. Bank clerks journalists and students established secret circles of sympathisers (C.A.T.) around them. In 1968 they published their first real political statement, called "Thirty Questions to a Tupamaro". Asked what was the difference between them and other left groups, a Tupamaro replied: *"... the majority of them seem to have faith in theoretical speeches and manifestos to prepare their militants, they don't see that basically it's revolutionary actions which bring about a revolutionary situation."*

In 1972, the Uraguayan President was replaced in parliament by his colleague Bordaberry. In an atmosphere of crisis and civil war he lasted only 12 months, and in February '73 army tanks took over Montevideo and established a military dictatorship. Parliament was abolished, and all opposition whether they were religious, bourgeois, liberal or communists, were imprisoned. Trade unions were banned and civil rights abolished. The word 'Tupamaro' was forbidden.

Wide support for Tupamaros

The Tupamaros have wide popular support in Uraguay. Along with the Workers' Army (E.R.P.) in Argentine and the Revolutionary Army (M.I.R.) in Chile, they formed this summer, a revolutionary 'junta' to overthrow U.S. imperialism from Latin America and establish revolutionary socialist societies.

The success of the Tupamaros has been their refusal to divide people into political/military or active service/overground or worker/farmer categroeis. Hence they have a mass appeal which enables them to cover their losses in action and has helped them carry out guerilla warfare for 10 years now. Raoul Sendic himself escaped from prison twice, other mass jailbreaks included tunnelling 38 women out of a Montevideo prison into a sympathisers house across the street. They also executed two American spies, Claude Fly: an agricultural expert' and Dan Mitrone the 'traffic expert', this last was described in the film "State of Siege".

Problems facing Tupamaros

But it would be foolish to exaggerate. Every movement has times of success and times of defeat. The problems for the Tupamaros began with elections. After a great escape of another 105 militants through a 60 yard tunnel in '71 they decided to call a cease fire and join a popular front for the general elections. Some see this decision as a fatal one, which led to defeats of the organisation in '72 from which they are only now regrouping.

This is what happened. During the elections, the Tupamaros' support groups, who normally carried out secret propaganda, acted as a security filter and recruiting base, had to open themselves up to ordinary elections campaigning. This isolated them from the cells they were protecting, whose security and existence obviously suffered. Then, new recruits flooded the Tupamaros on the strength of their campaigning, recruits that they had no way of absorbing or grouping on the spot.

Meanwhile, the army, which by then had responsibility for 'anti-subversion' were resting and relaxing in their barracks, recovering from action. Army intelligence however was having a field day photographing, spying and gathering information which might lead them to the Tupamaros cells.

Another problem was that the Marxist principle of bringing the organisation into the lives and homes of the people, had been turned upside down, and people were coming to the organisation, as if the Tupamaros were some sort of super-shock-troops against the State. These new recruits swamped the Tupamaros with all kinds of new ideas and 'tendancies', but basically they were hoping for some action and did not in some cases have the hard experience of living the life of the workers and cane cutters!

A giant offensive was prepared to end the cease fire after the elections. During a 6 month period, the Tupamaros seized uniforms, identity cards and about 146 million pesos. They obtained maps, plans of city sewers and drains and executed 4 members of the Army 'Death Squad'. But Sendic was arrested along with 1,986 other militants, 29 Tupamaros were killed, 26 wounded and 247 dumps discovered. A heavy casualty list for any movement. Since 1972 the Tupamaros have been rethinking their strategy to avoid a similar defeat.

Uraguay today

Today there are 4000–5000 political prisoners in Uraguay. Like in Ireland physical and mental torture is used by specially trained torturers from Brazil and the U.S. The drugs Penthotal and Taquiflaxin are among their sophisticated torturing equipment. Although they have in the past tried to execute one soldier for every militant tortured, the situation is pretty bad. Assassination gangs of police and army in civilian clothes cruise the streets murdering individuals in order to create an atmosphere of terror and fear. The gangs are trained at a special police school in Washington and co-operate with the Brazilian and Argentinian army to prevent militants escaping into exile. Spying techniques or 'low intensity operations' are carried out behind the doors of so-called welfare groups like 'Agency for International Development' and Peace Corps – social work groups.

Uraguay is a small underdeveloping country, with a tradition of nationalism. Like Ireland it exports cattle and people . . . and imports soldiers and foreign capital.

A good book on the Tupamaros is 'The Tupamaros' by Alain Labrousse (paperback) This article draws on Regis Debray's book 'The Tests of Fire' which is not yet on sale here. In French its called 'La Critique des Armes. '74 Vol. 1 + 2.

SECTARIAN ASASSINATIONS

RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS

The recent spate of sectarian murders aimed at the Catholic population has been allegedly claimed by the "Protestant Action Group", a group that was first heard of at the tail-end of the '56-'62 IRA campaign. They were then largely concerned with maintaining the Protestant industrial power by ensuring the non-employment of Catholics.

However this time the name has been used exclusively in connection with the sectarian murders, although it is almost certain that the "Protestant Action Group" as a unified body, independent of other Loyalist para-military groups, does not really exist. The "Protestant Action Group" is very similar to the illusive "Ulster Freedom Fighters" and indeed in the past few weeks the P.A.G. seems to have mysteriously taken over from the U.F.F. This would strongly point to the fact that the P.A.G. and U.F.F. are in fact one and the same, but that the cover-name is constantly changed so as to avoid detection and throw confusion amidst what little police efforts is given to their capture.

It is almost certain as well that these PAG/UFF killer squads are in fact controlled and operated by top UDA and UVF officers, who although sheltering under the cover of an alleged "ceasefire" in order to prevent their detention continue to operate their anti-Catholic murder campaign.

Another recent fact to bear this argument out was the recent UVF "brigade staff meeting" to discuss their ceasefire. In that, 34 of the 72 delegates allegedly voted for ending the 'ceasefire', an almost 50/50 split. In the UVF's own terms, an ending of the ceasefire would mean just "blattering everybody and anybody".

So what of the large group of dissident UVF officers who want action against the Catholic population? Obviously they, along with any UDA men of similar opinions will want to operate "Protestant Action Group" U.F.F.-type killer squads with the tacid approval of their parent para-military bodies to avoid any type of split or breakaway – the system is best probably illustrated in a diagram:

Over recent weeks the killings have taken a definite geographical pattern. Squads have been operating from the following areas – Shankill, Rathcoole, "Village" and Donegal Pass . . in particular the Antrim Road/Shore Road areas and Lisburn and Ormeau Roads are very dangerous.

It is obvious that many of the past killings have been simple – Catholics walking in or near Loyalist areas late at night. The message in that case is to stay clear of such areas as the above mentioned after dark, and to be very wary of slow-moving vehicles and strangers who offer lifts.

The sectarian murder campaign is not just a chance thing though. It serves the politics of Loyalism well so even if the simple precaution is taken to stay off the streets the assassins will attempt to come into fringe areas of the ghettoes. Roadblocks, and particularly vigilantes operating car-checks after dark deter any would-be assassins and could prevent more killings in any area.

In the final analysis though the assassins will attempt to operate as long as the Loyalist fascist groups feel the need for them. They will also continue to operate as long as the British Army turn a blind eye to them. The best answer for the Catholic community is to demand the right to self-protection (not British army "protection") for workers in isolated areas. The Belfast United Workers' Group should make this a priority demand since it has been at their place of work that many of the Loyalists victims have been killed.

Hallowe'en arrests bring quick reaction

On last halloween night two bombs went off inside the security net around Belfast's City Centre. The British Army artillery regiment responsible for the area were highly embarrassed at the large bangers, but as usual their embarrassment took the form of attack on shoppers in the maily Catholic Castle St. area.

Shortly after lunchtime the Artillery rigement entered Victor's Cafe abusing the customers generally. Four young men and two girls were arrested there among them Deirdre Mulgrew just out on parole from Armagh Jail.

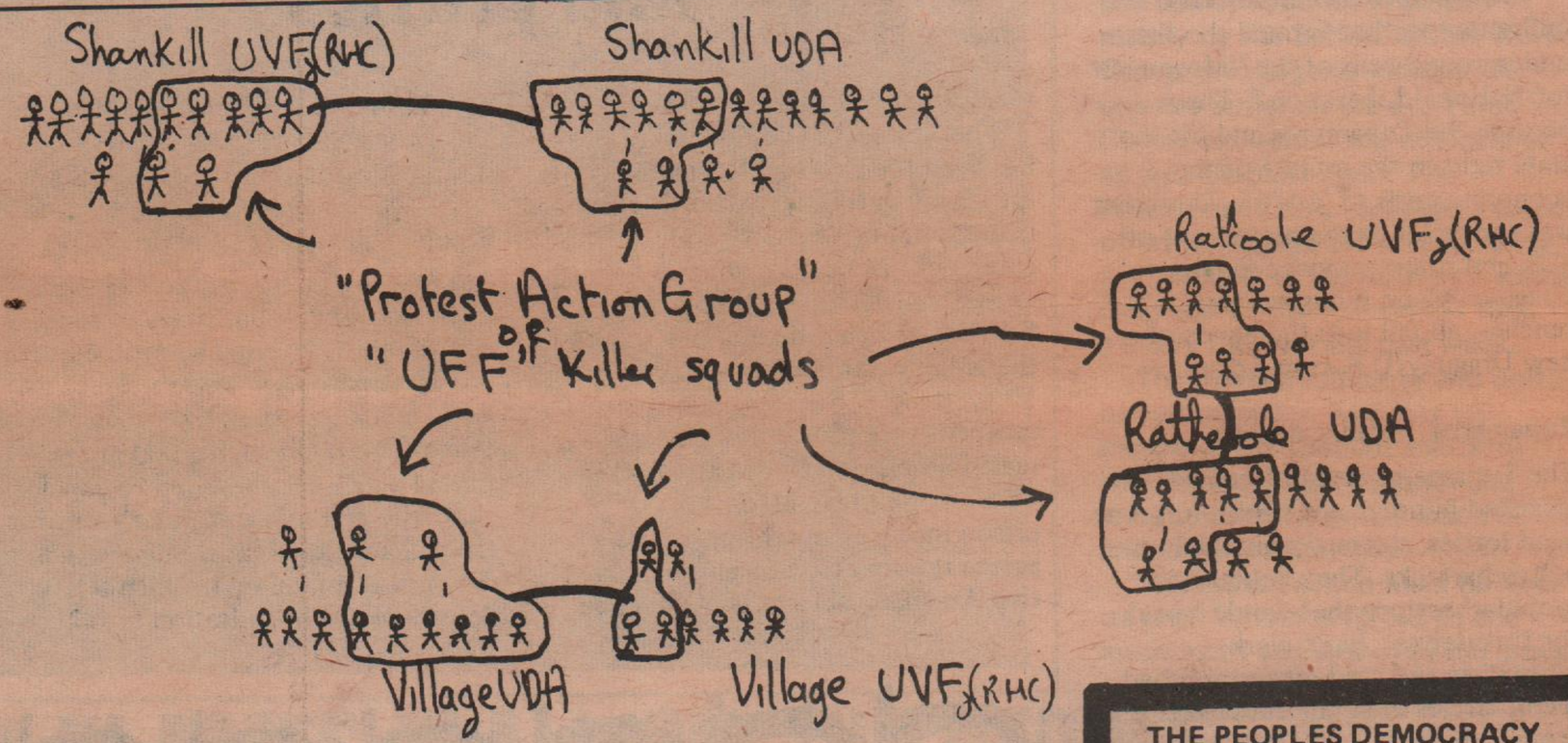
All six were marched down Castle Street and taken through the 'Security' gates into Queen St. There they were spreadeagled against a wall in full view of the people in Castle St. The two girls were beaten about the legs with batons by the WRAC's (women soldiers) and the four men were treated in the same way by the soldiers.

A crowd of people in Castle St. queuing for taxis saw this and rushed to their aid only to be blocked by Brits who locked the security gates. The six were then taken to the RUC station where they were detained. Outside the shoppers blocked the King St./ Castle St. junction in protest for five hours. A number of the demonstrations were then themselves arrested and detained on their way home afterwards.

In the same area on Sunday 3rd November the Brits arrested a local taxi driver. The other drivers retaliated by blocking main roads leading into the city centre. The driver was immediately released.

These two incidents show clearly the tactics of terror and random arrest being used by the British Army. But they also show the answer of the anti-Unionist people to that – spontaneous demonstrations of protest and solidarity.

After five years of struggle that is a comforting indication of continuing solidarity with those fighting and with those behind bars and barbed wire.



CHRISTMAS DAY MARCHES

WED. DEC. 25TH

TO PORTLAOISE PRISON AND LONG KESH

FULL DETAILS TO BE ANNOUNCED IN UNFREE CITIZEN LATER

ORGANISE A BUS IN YOUR AREA NOW

THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY – What we stand for

The People's Democracy is a revolutionary socialist organisation, fighting for the establishment of a 32-County Workers Republic in Ireland. In that fight we have learned through our experience of the struggle in the North that there can be no progress made until the age-old problem of the domination and exploitation of Ireland by British imperialism is settled.

We therefore support the war of resistance against British control in the North and have agitated and will continue to agitate, to back up that war – north and south.

Because both states, north and south, are capitalist controlled we recognise that the 26-Co. government – and indeed all the Leinster House Politicians – support Britain in the continuation of partition in Ireland and actively promote this by their policy of repression in the 26 Cos.

Consequently we see that the Struggle for National Liberation and Socialism must be fought here as well.

Our activity is based on our experience and Marxist analyses of the situation in Ireland. We consider the anti-imperialist struggle should be fought to gain the support of the working-class people of Ireland and the People's Democracy pledge themselves to achieving through the struggle for National Liberation – a Workers Republic of Ireland.

JOIN P.D. NOW

If you are interested in joining the People's Democracy and fighting for a Socialist 32 County Republic, fill in the form below and send it to:
Belfast: Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Andersonstown Rd. Belfast 11.

London: Patrick Doherty, 34 Dalston Lane, London E8.

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

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